/88 cont./
773 a cataclysm which annihilated all of humanity with the exception of the Uro. This explains why they speak a different language than the other Indians. Tiahuanacu and its church existed before the sun was created. They had been built by the Inca. When the sun appeared in the sky the church and Tiahuanacu melted." The vestiges of the old myth which
773 539 Betanzos (1) has preserved for us are recognizable here.

[113]

1. Betanzos (Juan Diez de), "Historia de los Incas y Conquista del Peru /History of the Incas and the Conquest of Peru/," Colección de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Peru, (Lima, 1924), Vol. 8, second series, pp. 82-83.

Tuki	pača	(čamak tiempo)	šoñi	ekanštinnakčai
Former times		former times	people	have remained

toksanakaki		estansias	tiksi	ekanastkalačai
people of the others		"estancias"	they died	we have remained

nekstal	ti	čiaki	sisasučai.
then	this	language	we know.

157 [609] /89/ Disposition. In disposition and nature the Uro are as sombre as the Aymara. A stranger who comes to visit them receives a cold and slightly hostile reception. To this ill-will is added the unhealthy rapacity shown by the Aymara and the Bolivians, besides the apathy and that heaviness of spirit which makes the Indian highlander frankly so odious. I am not, however, unaware of the causes of the mental atrophy of the
155 648 Bolivian Indian; the Uro have not escaped the brutalities and exploitation of their Spanish masters, nor that of their even

/362 cont./

*798 *796 [576] repeated immediately in echo. It seemed to me that this cry was raised each time that the alferez began to drink or refilled his drinking cups. More direct compliments were frequently addressed to the alferez, who was treated as in the previous festival.

Several times the alferez' wife, displaying as much conviction as enthusiasm, threw out handfuls of white maize or peas over which the audience fought.

Practically the whole afternoon passed in this way beneath a leaden sky. When the prayers and wishes ceased to be heard, a mournful silence momentarily reigned, uninterrupted by any [573] [557] particular conversation. Although most of them were drunk, the Indians remained as apathetic and indifferent as usual.

*798 *796 262 574 Toward five o'clock the meal for which all had been patiently waiting was served. Two blankets were spread out in front of the alferez, and the cooks, led by the Officiant and his helper, placed the food on them. Boiled barley brought in bowls was poured out in ribbons forming a large oval cut again lengthwise by several parallel lines. At this point several guests got up to add either cuño (frozen potatoes) or roasted maize which was scattered between the ribbons of barley. The boiled meat brought in bowls was arranged magisterially on the ribbons of barley at regular intervals and in equal amounts. But part of the meat was directly distributed by the Officiant and the cooks, who first offered the llama, then the pork, and last the mutton. At the same time bowls of stinking boullion were passed from hand to hand and everyone took several gulps.

*798 *796 Before closing the samiri's cellar, the Officiant recited a prayer that was listened to by all with bared heads. This prayer is addressed to the mal'ku and the samiri. The cellar was then shut and hidden under a yareta.

[539] At the moment of departure the Officiant turned once more to the samiri and directed several words of farewell which put an end to the ceremony:

Carangas—
Chipaya

/385 cont./

*798 *796 house and his patio. A few pinches of maize flour were thrown in the hole.

[791] [576] /386/ The yatiri then walked around those present to greet them according to all the rules of Čipaya etiquette. The master of the flock and his wife offered him some alcohol and coca and invited their relatives and friends to take some of the leaves which they had spread out on the ground. They drank and chewed for

● [157] half an hour without exchanging a word and with all the gloomy gravity to which these Indians are accustomed. Next a stuffed lamb decorated with wool pompoms — the samiri — was brought out of a pile of material which enveloped it; the wife of the owner of the sheepfold added several supplementary tufts of red wool to it and all approached it in turn to offer a libation on its body, to offer it coca, and to recite a long prayer for it. It was then buried in the hole along with khoa, "copal," sprigs of rosemary, and a few pinches of coca which the Officiant threw with each lump of earth, continuously murmuring his prayers. His movements were imitated by the spectators, who rivaled him in zeal.

The hole was not entirely full. At one side of it on a small tablecloth the instigator of the festival had piled up the innumerable products with magical qualities which the Čipaya customarily

*798 *796 791 offer to their divinities. The yatiri, after having subjected them to a detailed review, prepared paper sacks in which he put first pink, yellow, and green lozenges, pieces of pink and white candies, and lastly sprigs of rosemary and some starch.

*798 *796 791 822 He then proceeded to a minute selection from the ten to 12 colored mineral powders which had been put at his disposal. He kept only four: a deep green, a light green, a violet, and a brown. He poured them into separate little paper horns, with the exception of the light green, which he mixed with the brown. These colors undoubtedly had a special significance to judge from the attention which the yatiri gave to their selection and from the explanations which he gave to the master of the place. I have every reason to suppose that these four colors correspond to the

Carangas—
Chipaya

/394 cont./

directly with my informants was a constant source of difficulties and misunderstandings for me. The chief obstacle which I had to surmount, however, was of a psychological nature: the strength of inertia and the mental laziness of the Čipaya. They offer a deaf resistance to the investigator, composed both of indifference and obstinacy, which the handsomest gifts cannot conquer.

Evenings in their round huts, they are not accustomed to gather together to narrate stories, as do the natives of Chaco. As soon as their last meal has been taken, they roll themselves in their blankets, extinguish their wretched fire of taquia (dried excrement), and sleep heavily until morn. During the festivals they drink, pray, and chew their coca, but never succumb to the joys of conversation.

When I began my investigation of tales and myths, I received the unanimous response that no one in the village had known any for a long time. I was conducted to a blind, paralytic old man, the oldest man of the tribe, who recited the myth of the origin of the Čipaya to me, which I have transcribed below. All the efforts I subsequently made to draw other tales out of him collided with his ignorance, which I believe to have been real.

The few tales which I was able to note down were practically all dictated to me by the corregidor of Chipaya, a young man about 20 years old who, with another inhabitant of the village, had gone voluntarily to present himself at Oruro to do his military service there. He had come back with a few vague rudiments of Spanish, comical manners, and a high /395/ opinion of his ability and of himself. He was my best informant. I was not able to find out if the tales he dictated to me were previously known to him, or if he had gone to ask his father for them to win the large premium I had promised to those who would come and tell stories about men or animals to me. As will be realized these tales are very disjointed and incoherent and constitute reminiscences of episodes rather than continuous narratives. They are ancient Andean myths which have passed to the level of diverting anecdotes. I do not

/204 cont./

Intelligence, character, and morality

123 Every consideration of the character of a human group, no matter how small, demands closer contact with the individuals than that which I was able to maintain with the Čipaya. The impossibility which I experienced in most cases of being able to communicate directly with them especially was an obstacle to my observations. The judgment that I make of the Čipaya is hence necessarily summary and without scientific grounds. The Čipaya inspired in me more disgust and antipathy than pity. Neither by their physique nor by their disposition did they draw the affection which the ethnographer /205/ from professional bent would be prone to offer them. Their
142 features are heavy and thick, and only a few individuals, products of mixtures with their neighbors the Aymara, present the handsome profile with the curved nose characteristic of the conquering race of the Bolivian Altiplano. Their short and thick-set body is made even heavier by the thick woolen clothing with which they cover themselves. Only their slender, well-formed legs are pretty to see when crossing
[515] a river. Their complexion would not be so dark if they would consent at least once in their lives to wash. The filth and the rags which cover them accentuate even more the wretched and miserable appearance of this group of human beings.

●157 Intellectually the Čipaya are on a rather low level: they have a dull and narrow mind and visibly feel an aversion to any coherent
[538] mental effort. Without fantasy and without imagination, they have for their total literature only a few insipid and short tales, which anyway seem to be Aymara in origin. Some women are an exception to this rule and struck me by a certain vivacity in their character and intelligence. Two or three young people also appeared better endowed than the average member of the tribe.

157 The Čipaya nourishes no ambition, and the desire for any
46 worldly gain cannot draw him out of his apathy. His movements are slow and measured, his ability to remain motionless is without limits. He seems to pursue constantly an internal dream which is always the

/205 cont./

157 461 [859] same. Boredom and silence overwhelm the village. The children themselves share in this general sullenness: they never have fun, so to speak, and have no toys. The men watch over their sheep with a vague eye or stay squatting in their huts chewing coca or doing nothing. The women, if necessity forces them, weave some coarse material or occupy their leisure time by looking for fleas on each other or by having the innumerable small plaits of their hair made.

157 17 [609] The Čipaya are nonetheless much more congenial and pleasant than their neighbors the Aymara. They do not have the morbid mistrust of strangers which many of the Bolivians have inherited from the Aymara. They are also not so stupidly grasping and stubborn as the latter. The Čipaya are, without doubt, of all the Indians on the altiplano the most pleasant and easygoing. In spite of this dismal apathy which I have just noted, they are capable of laughing, which rarely happens among the Aymara, at least in the presence of 123 157 strangers. They know how to appear well-wishing, and my relations with them were almost always excellent. I had difficulty with only two Čipaya, who, in the middle of a festival insulted me /206/ liberally. Their attitude, due to their alcoholic excesses, was severely judged by those present. During all the ceremonies in which I took part, I was the object of all sorts of attentions, and they never forgot to offer me alcohol and coca. This generosity was all the more touching as the poor Čipaya pay a lot for these products and, as a [431] result of the crisis, had only a very little. I often received presents of small cheeses which were given me as a sign of recognition for a service or advice. Sometimes these humble gifts were made without any hidden reason, simply out of friendliness.

I never had to complain of dishonesty among them, but I have reason to believe, however, that they are not so scrupulous when it is a question of the property of other members of the tribe. Several 152 578 small facts removed all my illusions in this respect. Life in Chipaya is not idyllic. Jealousy rages there like an unleashed and malevolent [123] devil. No Indian dared to sell me the objects which I acquired for [126] my collections in broad daylight: all feared the unkind comments of those near them.

/206 cont./

152 of those near them. The envy which tortures these contained and
518 impassive beings manifests itself in an underhand manner in low acts
[154] of revenge, in denunciations of each other to the alcaldes, and in interminable quarrels. Some Čipaya seem to realize this state of mind and complain about it. One of them who had traveled a bit spoke to me of it with bitterness: "Here," he said, "all hate each other, all envy each other, all steal from each other, and it does not make a good life."

593 Married life often reflects the brutality and ill-nature of the
578 characters. Disputes between spouses are frequent and degenerate into volleys of blows with sticks which the husband administers to his wife or reciprocally. The in-laws take part in these domestic
[1062] conflicts and add to them. These quarrels can give way to drama: a few days after my arrival in Chipaya, a woman in a sudden fit of hysterical anger against her husband strangled herself with her own hands.

836 Sexual morality seems to be, from what the Čipaya told me, bad from our point of view. Young girls enjoy a great deal of freedom before marriage, and no importance seems to be granted to
848 virginity. Illegitimate children are welcome and do not prevent them
837 from marrying. In contrast, infractions against conjugal fidelity can have serious repercussions. Some women seem to let themselves be seduced easily, and these cases of adultery or attempted adultery
593 provoke in turn brawls and scuffles. In general there is no apparent affection between man and wife. The women have nonetheless a privileged position, and their authority is incontestable. They speak to their husbands in firm and decisive tones, and no decision can be /207/ made without their consent. The children are never
150 mistreated. From the point of view of character, the Čipaya com-
177 pare very favorably with the Uro of Ancoaqui, their brothers in race who still more than they have felt the pernicious Aymara influence.
609 The last 30 Uro of the Desaguadero compete in hostility and distrust
161 of strangers, even well-meaning ones, and it is hardly pleasant to stay with them.

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

of their native language remains, it is impossible to know whether they were linguistically related to the *Uru* of Lake Titicaca. It is highly possible that they were different, for "*Uru*" has been used even more inclusively than "*Chango*" and may have been applied to peoples of different languages.

Uru history is little known. The most ancient Highland *Uru* tradition, that in prehistoric times their bodies were used as binding material in building the great *Colla* structures, probably signifies that human beings were sacrificed when foundations were laid. They claim to be the oldest race in the world, antedating the sun. It is said that they are the people involved in the famous tribute of lice to the *Inca*.

In earliest historic times, the *Uru* appear to have lived on the numerous islands of Lake Titicaca and in the reed (totora) swamps of the Río Desaguadero. Alcedo, writing in the latter half of the 18th century, said that they were removed against their will from the islands of the lake to the mainland, where they dwelt in gloomy caves and holes in the ground covered with reeds. At the end of the 19th century, *Uru* was still spoken in scattered places: Ahuallamaya, Ancoaqui, Iruito, and Nazacara in the Río Desaguadero region of Bolivia; and in Simiñaque and Sojapata in Perú (Polo, 1901). In 1873, there were *Uru* haciendas at Chesaque, Taguau, Tacacatani, Chicani-uma, Machacamarca, Urcuni-uma, Huallaqueri, Calayampani, and Tocavi. There were 937 persons (448 males, 498 females), of whom 809 were Indians in the Peruvian section, but as this number included *Aymara*, it is doubtful if there were more than 200 *Uru* in 1873. In 1938, there were 30 taxable persons in the Ancoaqui area, which agrees well with Métraux's estimate (1936 a) that the entire Río Desaguadero region had less than 100 *Uru* in 1931.

Recently, the Ancoaqui *Uru* have been despoiled of their lands by the *Aymara* comunarios of Jesús de Machaca and retain only the few thousand square meters on which their village stands.

The Coast *Uru* are little known. Locana Machuca (Latcham, 1910) noted 400 fishermen in the cove of Atacama (Cobija), others from the Río Loa north to Pisagua on the Tarapacá coast, and "more than a thousand on the coast of Arequipa."

Unlike the friendly *Uru* of the Coast, the Highland *Uru* have long had a reputation for truculence and meanness. A 17th-century rhyme states that, "De indio Uro ningun hombre está seguro (No one is safe with an *Uru* Indian)." Acosta said that they were so brutish they did not even consider themselves human. Garcilaso called them "rude and stupid," and even the sympathetic Bertonio wrote of them as "a tribe of Indians looked down upon by everyone and of very low intelligence." Métraux found even the *Chipaya* less morbidly distrustful, suspicious, fearful, brutal, and stupidly avaricious than the

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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Uru, who, at best, are an inhospitable, apathetic, and hate-filled group which has been condemned and harassed throughout its history.

The culture of the *Uru* is now largely like that of the *Aymara*, with whom they have recently extensively intermarried, but it preserves several interesting archaic features of altiplano culture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Fishing.—The *Uru* depend primarily on fishing (pl. 115, *top*), secondarily on hunting, in the waters and totora reed swamps of Lake Titicaca and the Río Desaguadero. The dry land they own is so restricted that they have little agriculture, although they have some livestock.

Fishing by moonlight is much favored. They frequently use a V-shaped weir made of reed bundles thrust into the mud of the swamp bottom, with a removable net at the opening of the V; the fish are driven into the converging fences by agitating the water with a bundle of reeds tied to a pole. The *Uru* also use three- and eight-pointed spears, but lack the bow and arrow. They have several kinds of nets. Large dip nets attached to a frame are handled by one fisherman; the netting is placed over a conical frame, the partially closed base of which is 10 ft. (3 m.) in diameter. Another framed net is rectangular, a scoop net with a pole handle. Bottom and dragnets also exist; these are weighted with perforated stones at the bottom, and require a number of persons to drag them behind several balsas. Small fish, salted and toasted, are carried and eaten dry on journeys. Larger varieties are salted, scaled, boned, and stretched out between stones in a slow, smoky fire; thus smoke-dried, they are preserved for periods of scarcity.

Hunting.—Hunting is next in importance to fishing. The river marshes abound in water hens, ducks, geese, loons, herons, various diving birds, and gulls, of which only the loon is not eaten, because of its rank oily flesh. A kind of red duck (pana-soluna) is most frequently hunted. Hunting methods are varied. The *Uru* are skillful with slings, which are woven and braided of varicolored llama and sheep wool. They also use bolas, which have two large wooden floats for balls and a small, grooved, ovoid stone for a handgrip. One use of disguises has been reported. Early in the morning a man conceals himself in a bunch of reeds, slowly approaches the birds which are still stupefied by the cold of the night, then, grabbing them by the feet, quickly kills them by biting the head or twisting the neck. In communal hunts, nets, sometimes hundreds of meters long, are set in slightly curved lines on reed supports. Hunters in balsas make a noisy drive and frighten the birds into the almost invisible nets and dispatch them with clubs. The *Uru* also eat the eggs of aquatic birds, and sun-dry strips of their flesh to make a kind of charqui.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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calling themselves "Bukina" or "Pukina," which agrees with the synonymy of Ehrenreich, Hervas, *et al.* The "Uruquillas" of the early chroniclers appears to have meant the Uru; but Chamberlain's "Urumaya" is the name of a society, not of the tribe, and is moreover an Aymará word.

Bertonio, a missionary of the late 16th century, gives the Aymará name, probably opprobrious, "*Kruckucunti*: Big-lipped [People], Nickname of the Puquinas." Chamberlain notes the Quechua name for the Uru as *Tarascare*, but Monti says their Quechua designation is *Uroculla*. Paredes says the Aymára call the Uru "*Chaucumaukkeri*" [etymologized by my interpreter as *lauka-mang'eri*, lit. "water-lauka-eaters," i.e. eaters of the water-plants of the genera *Myriophyllum*, *Potamogeton*, *Cinnophora*, *Elodea*, and *Chara*] or "Chaucu." The tradition was that their ancestors were brought from the Pacific coast by the great Colla or Aymára conqueror, Tacuilla, but the Aymára say that the "*achachila*" or place-deity of the Uru is the swamp itself, much as Mt. Illimani is the place-deity of the Aymára in its region. Neveu-Lemaire[9] says that the Uru were the group from whom the Inca exacted the famous tribute of lice.

Posnansky notes several place-names—Urubamba, Urupampa, Urmiri, Urucollo, Uru-Uru (Oruro), and others—which he believes incorporate the name Uru, but these are etymologizable in Aymará, in which language "uru" means "day," or according to some authorities "worm."[10] Polo suggests the implausible etymology from "uri" (Aymará "unconquered, brave"); but in the 17th century "uru" or "uru" seems to have been in current use in the sense of "dirty, ragged, rustic," etc. A passing proverb, "De indio Uro ningun hombre esta seguro" ("No man is safe from an Uru Indian"), appears to testify to the treachery of an incompletely subjected minority.

Temperament. The temperament of the Uru has been spoken of in very flattering terms by all who have known them. Acosta said that they were so brutish as not even to have considered themselves human: "Son estos *Uros* tan brutales que ellos mismos no se tienen por hombres." Garcilaso de la Vega called them "rudos y torpes," rude and stupid. Even the

[9] Neveu-Lemaire, *Les Lagos*, 139-137; this authority also says that the name of the Department of Oruro and its capital city in Bolivia comes from the subjugation "Uru-uru." Other authorities in this paragraph not heretofore listed: Arturo Posnansky, *Anthropologia y Sociologia de las Razas Interandinas y de las Regiones Adyacentes* (La Paz, 1937), p. 59; Ludovico Bertonio, *Vocabulario de la Lengua Aymara*, 1st (Chuyuito) [Pera] 2 vols. 1612 facsimile edition, J. Platzmann, Leipzig 1879 vol. 2, p. 301; Eleuterio Monti, *Diccionario Quechua* (Sucre, 1905); Rigoberto Paredes, *Mitos, Supersticiones y Supervivencias Populares de Bolivia*, 2nd ed. (La Paz, 1920), p. 23.

[10] In connection with the meaning "day" see the myth in Métraux *JAFL* 57: 203-4.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1961
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sympathetic Barranco lists the Uru in his vocabulary as "Es escaso de indios despreciados entre todos . . . y de menos entendimiento." Pareden calls them "brutales . . . despreciables, de poco entendimiento, ligeros y cobardes." The Belgian traveller Wiener says of them, "The face is lifeless and without expression; it betrays hardly a sign of intelligence." Posnansky writes:

El Uru en tiene glaseres, desconoce ahora el juego. Lo ríen jamás sonríe o los labios de su cara inmóvil, sin la menor emoción, tostado por el sol y petrificado por el viento glacial. Hasta sus niños son pusilánimes, apáticos y tristes, soñolientos y mudos. . . . Todo el aspecto de los Uros es el de un pueblo envilecido.

Métraux preferred their conquerors, the Chipaya, to them as being less morbidly distrustful, suspicious, hostile, brutal, and stupidly avaricious than their neighbors:

The Uru have a character and a genius so unalike as the Aymara. The stranger who comes to visit them receives a cold, even a slightly hostile welcome on their part. To this thrift is added the unhealthy capacity of the Aymara and the Bolivians, and finally the apathy and heaviness of spirit which renders the altiplano Indian so downright hateful. . . . The last thirty Uru of the Desaguadero rival each other in hostility and distrust before even well-intentioned strangers, and it is scarcely pleasant to sojourn among them.

The present writer, however, after months of field work with the Aymara, found the Uru vastly more sympathetic than the former truculent, hot-tilled group; in my original field notes I have accounted the Uru a "cordial and smiling people . . . rather more vivacious and handsome than the Aymara."[3]

History. Of the history of the Uru almost nothing is known. Their only tradition is that they have lived in their present home immemorially but have been progressively despoiled of their lands by the Aymara. Alcedo, writing in the latter half of the 18th century states that those on the islands in Lake Titicaca had, against their will, been removed to the mainland, where they dwelt in gloomy caves and in huts in the ground covered with reeds. Throughout their history the Uru appear to have been a steadily and rapidly disappearing minority group, subject in turn to the Aymara, Inca, and Spanish.

Language. I did not live with the Uru long enough to learn the language in any sense, or even to control the phonemic system. The other independ-

[3] J. de Acosta, *Historia de los Indios* (1590), p. 62; Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios Reales de los Incas*, Vol. 7, p. 4; Barranco, *op. cit.* Vol. 2, p. 280; Paul Wiele, *Bolivia* (New York, 1914, tr. Bernard Miall); Posnansky, *op. cit.*, p. 90; Métraux [Steward 2], p. 69, [2], p. 207.